

INDIA'S SEARCH FOR

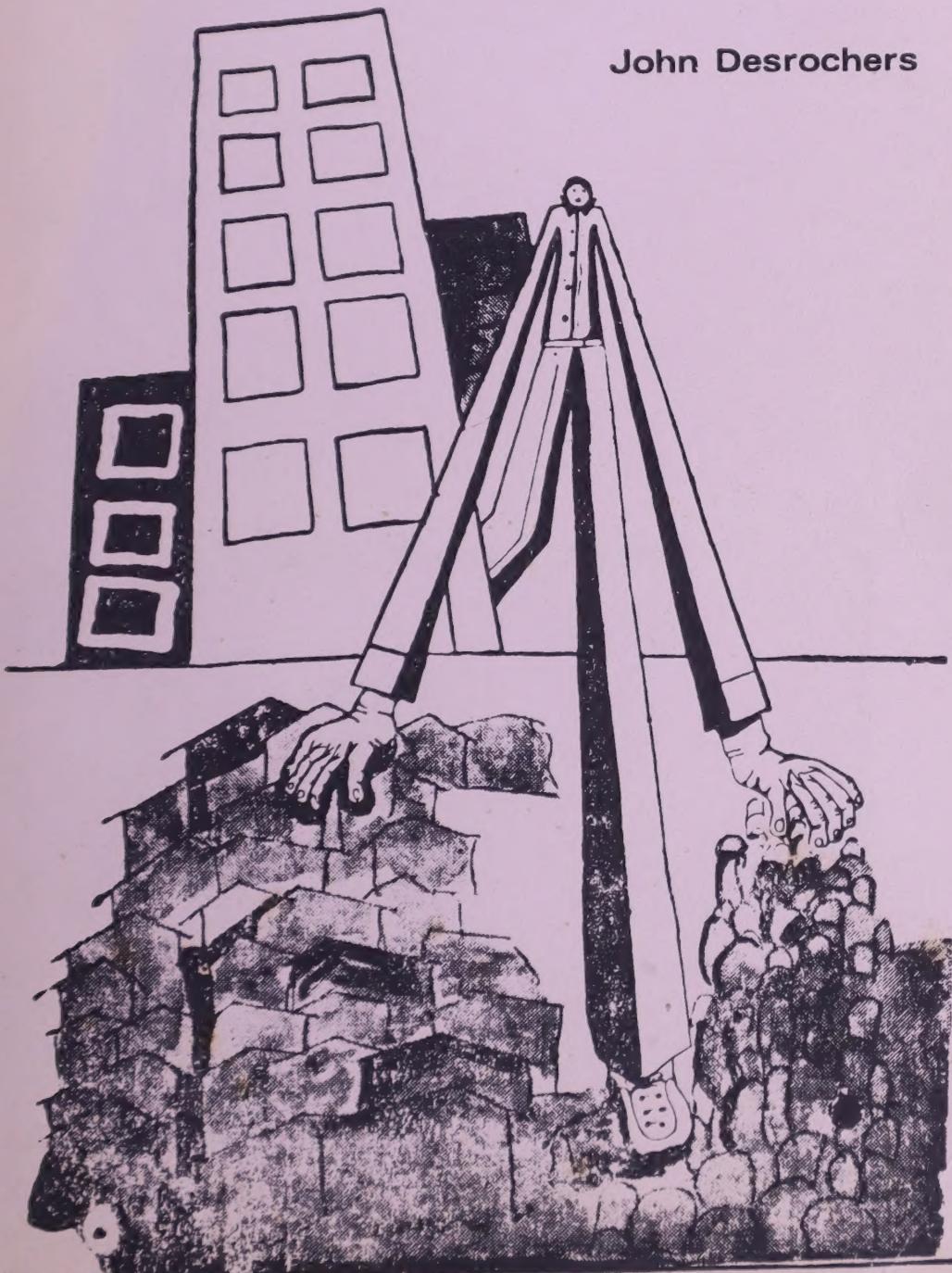
DEVELOPMENT AND

SOCIAL JUSTICE

ANALYSIS OF INDIAN SOCIETY

1-The Development Debate

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CONTENTS

	Page
Editorial Foreword	1
Introduction	3
I- Historical Sketch of Development Efforts and Theories	6
The Historical Background	6
The Moods of the Debate	8
Evolution of Development Theories	9
II- The Capitalist Approach: The Crisis of Developed Countries	11
III- The Welfare Approach	17
IV- The Modernization Approach	19
Analysis of the Concept of Modernization	20
Evaluation of the Modernization Approach	23
Ambiguous Comparisons with the West	25
The Mistaken Economics of the Approach	26
The Neglect of Human and Structural Factors	27
V- The Institutional and Social Justice Approaches	28
VI- The	34
Conclus	34
Appendi	35
Bibliogr	39
Question	40
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THE DEVELOPMENT DEBATE

Introduction

We have only to open our eyes to see the misery and the suffering of our people. A few minutes walk on the streets of our cities confronts us with slumdwellers, undernourished children, beggars, the unemployed, and a great variety of sick and crippled. Our villages, though slightly better in appearance, do not succeed in hiding their problems of poverty and inequality for long. Similar sights await travellers in most African, Asian, and Latin American countries.

This ocean of misery as well as our friendly contacts with the poor and the oppressed awaken our consciences and challenge us to dedicate ourselves to the task of changing the conditions in which almost two thirds of the world of today live. Several questions spontaneously arise in our minds: "Can the burdens of hunger, unemployment, lack of medical and educational facilities, low wages, to name a few, be lifted from the shoulders of our people? Can they be at least made lighter? How can these problems be tackled? What approach will really bear fruit? How can each one of us be involved in building up a better India?" It is, however, high time for us to realise that answers can only be found in the light of a proper analysis of the phenomenon of poverty and underdevelopment.

Goodwill and a sense of sacrifice and commitment do not indeed suffice to make our contribution to development and social justice meaningful. In the last decades, tremendous investments in men and money have been more or less wasted on wrong orientations. Many dedicated people have worked with various assumptions, convictions, approaches and strategies, and their efforts have yielded only meagre results. Some may even have created more problems than solutions. This whole history leads us to a radical questioning of our understanding of development. If we bypass this search and refuse to critically consider our basic assumptions, disaster awaits mankind.

The readers who have already tried to familiarise themselves with development issues, may have been baffled by a whole series of theories and practical suggestions. They probably wonder how to find their way into this jungle of

opinions. The problems of development and social justice are indeed immense and the proposed solutions numerous and complex. The word "debate" found in the title of our essay, very appropriately indicates the depth and the range of the conflicts involved.

This booklet aims at providing a map for non-expert readers. It points out areas of agreement and dissent in the development debate and gives an overall view of both the issues at stake and of the literature available. Though unavoidably incomplete and imperfect, it offers, we hope, a useful starting-point and guide for further studies. We are convinced that, in this way, much confusion, leading to discouragement and inaction, can be dispelled.

It must also be added that development literature confronts us with a debate that affects our lives. All of us belong to a certain culture and strata of society which shape us more deeply than we think. Consciously or not, and in a more or less critical way, we have inherited and have assimilated a certain vision of the world; even our personal feelings and reactions have been moulded by our environment. Our views on development are, to a great extent, based on unquestioned assumptions, class interests, and personal concerns, convictions and values. Development is not a neutral ground. We are questioned and challenged by the subject matter of our study. We want to discover the truth, but several prejudices blind us. We are struggling to become more free and let the truth shine in our hearts and minds. The Development Debate challenges us to discover and accept new values, new attitudes, and most important of all, new commitments. Our experience in many courses and seminars shows how much all of us struggle and even suffer before opening our eyes and letting a new vision of the world enter our lives. Interior resistance should not, therefore, surprise us. Only sincere and constant efforts give birth to the truth. The Development Debate takes place within each one of us.

In the following pages, we shall first of all consider the history of development efforts and theories (I). This will enable us to identify and place the different approaches to development in their context. The historical influence of developed countries, with their capitalist approach, invites us to reflect on their present crisis and search for a new humanism (II). We shall then consider successively three approaches which were adopted in the Third World and in neglected sectors of developed countries, but always more or less within the orbit of capitalism: welfare (III), modernization (IV), and the institutional

approach (V). The great impact of modernization on most of us has led us to study it at length. Next we examine more briefly the socialist approach with its various trends, (VI). In our booklets, we have chosen to evaluate the various approaches to development according to their own results and criteria. We are aware that a deeper study is possible from the standpoint of a structural analysis of society, but we have postponed such reflections to after the third booklet. This is also why a definite stand on the last two sections will have to wait. Throughout this booklet, we shall try to identify the basic assumptions of each approach: their concepts of poverty and development; their strategy to bring about social change. We have finally given, in appendix, a series of interesting and relevant texts which can help us to understand better the issues at stake. We are sure that these appendices together with the bibliography and questionnaire will be useful to individuals and groups for a deeper study.

1. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AND THEORIES.

The historical background¹

A few words on world history may serve as the background of our reflections. The modern concept of "development" is of rather recent origin. It projects images of growth, progress, and evolution. It somewhat portrays history after the processes of nature. Such a vision becomes possible and gains ground when growing scientific and technological discoveries give birth to the experience of a fast-changing, dynamic, and modern society. The industrial revolution took place in a colonized world and it developed patterns of economic, political and cultural dominations between nations. At approximately the same date, struggles within nations were taking place. In 1789, the ideological ferment of the French Revolution put a new emphasis on human dignity, liberty, equality and fraternity. Progressively, the bourgeoisie overthrew the monarchy and the aristocracy and became the dominant class. The ideal of parliamentary democracy, then revolutionary, spread to more and more countries. Large movements, inspired by Karl Marx and his followers, challenged the growing capitalist system by the application of the same principle of equality to the economic field. Aspirations towards communist or socialist societies grew and found their first historical expression in the Russian Revolution of 1917. In subsequent years, other European countries, and later on, China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba, adopted various forms of socialism. In the meantime, there were two world wars and several countries gained their political independence.

After the Second World War, the discovery of massive hunger, poverty and underdevelopment attracted world-wide attention. The United Nations started to broadcast various statistics and did much to make people aware of world hunger and misery. It soon became customary to speak of the Third

1. For this short section, see E. Eppler, "Not much time for the Third World", Oswald Wolff Ltd., London, 1972, pp. 13-15; Yves Lacoste, "Geographie du Sous-Development", Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1965, pp. 11-18; and G. Myrdal, "The Challenge of World Poverty", Penguin Books, 1971, pp. 14-16 and 22ff. Writers have various concepts about "development". For the present, it might be sufficient to mention some of the titles of C. Elliott's book, "The Development Debate", which describes these concepts: Development as Growth in Income, Development as Progress Towards Social Goals, Development as Liberation, Development as Humanization (SCM Press Ltd, London, 1971). On recent efforts to define and measure development, read the short and interesting article of M. A. Oommen, "The Meaning and Measurement of Development", in "Development: Perspectives and Problems", CLS-Madras, 1973, pp. 1-8.

World.² The world was shocked by this international situation. Systematic efforts were made to promote development. On President John F. Kennedy's proposal, the General Assembly of the United Nations declared the 1960's "The Development Decade". Later on, rich countries discovered the existence of poverty in their midst. They also tried to deal with their internal problems. In the USA, for example, President L. B. Johnson declared "unconditional war on poverty" early in 1964 and later upheld the vision of the "Great Society".

In this period, various political factors fostered the growth of social sciences and development efforts as well as an atmosphere of expectancy and optimism. G. Myrdal for example lists the following elements: "the rapid liquidation of the colonial power structure"; "the craving for development in the underdeveloped countries themselves, or rather, among that educated and articulate elite who think, speak, and act on their behalf"; and finally "the international tensions, especially the cold war, that have made the fate of the underdeveloped countries a matter of foreign policy concern in the developed countries".³

It became, however, increasingly clear in the mid-sixties that success would not be so easy. Taken up by their own problems and disillusioned by poor results, the developed nations' willingness to help began to decrease. "Aid weariness" was setting in. In the Third World, the momentum of development also tended to slow down. Problems of implementation constantly widen the gap between targets and results, rising expectations and achievements. In spite of the announcement of this decade as "The Second Development Decade" and the urgency constantly voiced by world leaders, the United Nations has been unable, in the last five years, to take any significant step towards implementing its programmes. In development

2. This expression was created by A. Sauvy after the expression "Third State" of 1789. It replaced the expression "proletarian Nations" suggested by A.J. Toynbee and popularised by P. Moussa. Developed capitalist and socialist countries respectively form the First and Second World. The term "Third World", therefore, groups the ex-colonial countries marked by the common denominator of poverty and underdevelopment. Certain writers include a political dimension in this concept by speaking of "nonaligned nations". More recently the words "Third and Fourth World" have been coined to distinguish the "better-off" among these countries. The term "developed" is also made use of to speak of the first and Second World, while "developing" designates the Third World. Lately, some authors have introduced the concepts of "developed countries" (DC) and "less developed countries", (LDC). This whole terminology is sometimes challenged, but so far no alternative has been commonly accepted.

3. op. cit., p. 24.

circles, the general mood has, therefore, gone from optimism to realism or even pessimism, while traditional theories and approaches have been challenged or put aside.

THE MOODS OF THE DEBATE⁴

Development efforts began in a climate of enthusiasm and optimism. Newly independent nations more or less took for granted that economic growth and freedom would soon follow their political emancipation. Developed countries were also bubbling with confidence in the context of the many possibilities offered by science and technology. Few, if any, in the 1950's and early 1960's predicted doom for the future. According to their rightist or leftist political ideologies, people dreamt of either great peaceful changes or of successful revolutions for the progress of mankind. Myrdal shows how much of these dreams were related to political factors and he rightly qualifies most of the post-war thinking and planning on development as complacent, over-optimistic, opportunistic, diplomatic, biased and naive. He also speaks of "unwarranted optimism".⁵

Today, however, experts and planners, as well as politicians, have changed the tone of their speeches and their writing. Enlightened by the history of development efforts, they are much more realistic and modest in their targets. Modern man's conscience has become more confused with feelings and sentiments of guilt for the past, fear and anxieties concerning the future, and helplessness in the present. Nowadays talks of "aid weariness", "development despair", frustration and bewilderment, are growing more and more common.

R. D. N. Dickinson describes this present situation: "Failure to attain high expectations have led some to frustration, if not hopelessness. It has led some to weariness. It has led others to a poignant mood of...reassessment." The author feels that many development workers were not equipped for the long battle, for the intransigence and avarice of the powerful, for

4. The transition from "optimism to realism", is agreed upon in today's development literature. See for example G. Myrdal "Asian Drama, An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations", Penguin Books, 1968, pp. 20-24, and "The Challenge of World Poverty", op. cit., pp. 21-22, 25, 25 ff.; R. D. N. Dickinson, "To set at liberty the Oppressed, Towards an Understanding of Christian Responsibilities for Development/Liberation," World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1975, p. 34ff., and S. L. Parmar, ib., pp. 166-165.

5. See the references given in the previous footnote.

the complexity of the techniques to promote humanization, for intractable forces beyond human control, for the dimensions of development and liberation beyond the more visible goals of material wellbeing and social justice".⁶

Such a change of mood does not necessarily spell disaster. In fact much of today's disillusionment springs from our dreams of rapid and easy progress. These dreams made us satisfied with insufficient efforts. Driven by an inadequate and defective understanding of the phenomenon of under-development, we too quickly assumed we were on the threshold of great breakthroughs. A more realistic and lucid look at the situation is essential. Such an assessment will awaken us and confront us with the real problems of development and lead us to deeper commitments. Today, hope is permissible only in this atmosphere of realism, search, and struggle.

EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPMENT THEORIES⁷

Development theories have changed even more rapidly and drastically than the mood of the debate. Before making a more rigorous and detailed study, it might be good to see briefly what has taken place in the colonial and post-war (Second World War) periods. Socialist and marxist views, as well as other theories of the last decade, will be treated in the fifth and sixth sections of our booklet.

I - THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In a somewhat lengthy but interesting description, Myrdal thus expresses the viewpoint of the colonizers:

"In colonial times and right up to the Second World War, popular as well as the more sophisticated explanations of the poverty of the peoples living in what were called 'backward regions' - most of them were then not 'countries' - were, it is now clear in retrospect, plainly apologetic, aimed at relieving the colonial powers and the rich nations generally from moral and political responsibility for the poverty and lack of development of these peoples (Asian Drama, Ch. 21, secs. 6-7, pp. 977ff.).

6. op. cit., p. 55.

7. One can evidently find many classifications of development theories. In this booklet, we emphasize basic trends on which there is growing consensus. We owe much to G. Myrdal, "The Challenge of World Poverty", op. cit., pp. 21-45; A. R. Desai, "Essay on Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies", Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1971, xx pages; and D. N. Dickinson, op. cit., pp. 61-68.

It was then taken as established by experience that the people in the backward regions were so constituted that they reacted differently from Europeans: they normally did not respond positively to opportunities for improving their incomes and levels of living. Their tendency towards idleness and inefficiency and their reluctance to seek wage employment were seen as expressions of their wantlessness, very limited economic horizons, survival-mindedness, self sufficiency, carefree disposition and preference for a leisurely life. These attitudes were, in more sophisticated writings, often understood to have their roots in various elements in the entire system of social relations and institutions as fortified by religious prescription and taboos, with which the colonial powers for good reasons were reluctant to interfere.... Climate was seen as a crucial cause of these peoples' attitudes to sustained work. Dominating this kind of thinking was the racial-inferiority doctrine which, of course, even more definitely closed the door to any policy approach other than the established one of laissez-faire and non-interference in social matters ...

The most remarkable thing is of course, that in the colonial era economists did not bother much about the problems of poverty in the backward regions, in spite of the fact that they obviously fell in their field of study. On the whole, the masses there were then as poor and their lives as miserable as they are now. The economists' flagrant lack of interest was, of course, a reflection of the world political situation. The colonial regimes were not such as to call forth large-scale research on economic underdevelopment by giving political and public interest to such research.⁸

In certain cases the apologetic character of these studies, aimed at defending the "civilizing impact of Western powers" and the colonial system, even grew alongside the challenge of independence movements.⁹ Writers from the "colonized world" evidently tended to show the harmful effects of colonisation for their country and thus encouraged liberation forces. Some put the emphasis on the achievement of political independence, others on the solution of economic problems. In our country for example, in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, a whole group of economists - D. Naoroji, Ranade, Joshi, Gokhale, G. S. Iyer, Wacha and Dutt - exposed in their theory of

8. op. cit., pp. 22-23.

9. R. C. Dutt points out this phenomenon among British writers on India. See "INDIA TODAY", Modern India Press, Calcutta, 2nd. Indian Ed., 1970, pp. 80-81.

the drain, the constant flow of wealth from India to England.¹⁰ Such authors, writing from the perspective of colonized countries, anticipated certain trends which have become rather commonly accepted in the last ten years.

2-THE POST-WAR PERIOD

In the optimism of the 1950's, diverse theories favoured the modernisation approach. These theories originated and developed in the Western capitalist world and in the elites of newly independent countries. They presumed that, everywhere, development would follow more or less the same goals and paths. These theories, instead of presenting clear-cut differences, tend rather to complement one another and to insist on certain aspects of the general modernization approach.¹¹ They were called by many names: "Western Economics"; "Development Economics"; "Classical and Neo-classical" Economics"; "Liberal" and "Neutral" Economics.

Let us now consider more in depth the different approaches to Development.

II. THE CAPITALIST APPROACH: THE CRISIS OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Even though we are mainly interested in developing countries, we cannot avoid saying a few words about the development experiences of rich countries, especially those of the First World. Along with a certain influence exercised by the Socialist Bloc —The Second World — these capitalist countries had indeed a preponderant role, through welfare and modernisation, in shaping the goals and methods of development in Third World countries. In the following pages, we shall describe the development debate as it is alive—very much alive indeed!—and perceived by most people in developed capitalist countries. Nowadays, it is not only marxists and traditional opponents of capitalism who challenge the existing system. In fact, the economic structures of society do not seem to constitute the major sector under attack.¹² Criticism have

10. Bipan Chandra, "The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership, 1880-1905", People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1966.
11. For a more scientific classification and description of these theories, see appendix 3.
12. We shall reflect more deeply on the marxist analysis of the internal contradictions of capitalism in further booklets. Here we consider the questions from the point of view of many writers from developed countries.

become much more widespread and somehow put into question the very goals and processes of modern development and the type of civilization emerging from it. Such an evolution may have great repercussion on future history.

There is no doubt that the scientific, technological, and industrial revolutions, together with the parliamentary system of democracy and the pressures exercised by trade-unions and liberal or socialist political forces and parties, have brought about unparalleled progress in the freedom and the standard of living of the majority of the people of these countries. Often welfare states have been created. This constitutes a genuine liberation from hunger, sickness, illiteracy, etc., and offers incomparable possibilities for the masses to enjoy freedom, leisure and cultural activities. From an economic standpoint, the system has been successful enough to integrate most of the people. The workers' criticisms, protests and strikes, do not often put into question their basic acceptance of the system. Certain writers, therefore, contend that in such countries a socialist revolution, on the grounds of a search for a better economic and social life, may seem rather unlikely.¹³ In any case, this fact should not, however, blind us to the deep crisis presently affecting the First World.

Developed countries have first of all failed to solve their own poverty and inequality problems: 15 to 25% of their people remain marginalized and share very little in the profits of the system. The gap between them and the richer sections of society is constantly widening. The idea that reforms of the capitalist system have brought about a more equitable distribution of wealth and power remains a myth. In the USA, for example, the distribution of wealth is almost identical with that of India: according to serious studies, "the lowest fifth of American families receive only 3.2% of the national income while the highest fifth gets 45.8%, or more than fourteen times as much".¹⁴ There is no sign either that capitalism will reform itself. In fact, multi -or rather trans-national companies - that is, companies belonging to, or operating across many countries- are growing ever more powerful and greatly limit and control the actions of Governments.

13. See the controversial book of Roger Garaudy, "The Turning-point of Socialism", Fontana/Collins, 1970, especially chapters 1 & 2.

14. L. McCulloch, T. Fenton, and E. Tolan, "World Justice and Peace: A Radical Analysis for American Christians," quoted in "Education for Justice", T. P. Fenton, Orbis Books, New York, 1975, p. 117.

Development also brought in its wake the gigantic problems of pollution and limited world resources. Today people are more conscious and concerned about their environment and the destruction of nature. Though we cannot foresee all future discoveries of world resources, and still less forthcoming technological progress that can reveal new possibilities in the use of the world's goods, it is evident that the present standard of living, with its wastage and pollution, cannot continue indefinitely - still less be increased, and/or extended to other countries. There are limits to world resources and to the amount of pollution the environment can tolerate, and our consuming-polluting society has also to think of future generations.¹⁵

The crisis is even more acute in the cultural, moral and spiritual fields. The whole process of development, not kept under proper control by mankind, unleashed forces of destruction in society and led to dehumanization and new forms of slavery, oppression and unhappiness. Though salaries and conditions of work have prodigiously improved, work in modern societies most often remains uncreative and stereotyped and shows a great disregard of each man's uniqueness—his talents, needs, pace of work and what have you. People only begin to live after they finish working. Their life and work are no more integrated. Their work has become inhuman, alienating and dehumanizing. Capitalism and certain forms of socialism, too, have also not succeeded in creating a civilization where men are deeply involved in the decision-making process. In spite of parliamentary democracy and the freedom of the press, money wields such power that it practically controls the mass media, the electoral and decision-making processes, while big institutions and bureaucracy prevent participation and create an atmosphere of mechanisation.

The social costs of development have been terrible. Developed countries have indeed witnessed the collapse of micro-social units and of different forms of community life and interpersonal and group relationships. And though there are conflicting views on the meaning of life, it is generally agreed that development brought in its wake the breakdown of many

15. On this subject, see the famous book of Donella Meadows, Dennis Meadows, et al., "The Limits to Growth", Washington, D. C., Potomac Associates, 1972; and Barbara Ward and Rene Dubois "Only One Earth, The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet", Penguin Books, 1972. Dickinson, op. cit., gives a good summary of this discussion, pp. 10-13.

cultural, moral, spiritual, and religious values and customs.¹⁶ Such consequences are not simply deplorable, but accidental side-effects of development; they are the unavoidable products of a world-view. Western civilization is indeed based on attitudes that have proved themselves negative to human development: the appetite for profit, prestige and power; the spirit of ambition and competition; the constant search for wealth, material goods, affluence, luxuries, etc., and the drive for ever increasing production and consumption; an exaggerated sense of individualism and a deep-rooted selfishness, a concept of freedom which often does not respect other people's rights and which would be better called "licence" and "exploitation"; the emphasis on efficiency and rationality at the expense of a sense of symbolism, gratuity, mystery and sacredness; a neglect of the world of persons, human relationships and community life. The list could continue. To this impressive list of mistaken assumptions, values and attitudes, that in fact inspire much of day-to-day life in Western civilization, believers in God add the gradual erosion of spiritual and religious values. We can also say that our technological and industrial civilization is rooted in a false, exploitative, dominating understanding of the relationship between mankind and nature. This, then, is unconsciously transposed to man's relationships with his fellowmen and God.¹⁷

While intellectuals analyse contemporary society and voice their disagreement through writings, important movements express people's dissatisfaction. Nowdays Western civilization is marked with various types of protests which may not be fully understood by the creators of human history. Numberless hippies feel ill at ease with today's world and reject, more or less radically their society and its values. Still more recently, movements inspired by a return to the sources of Christianity or by a strong interest in Eastern religions, show a resurgence of spiritual, religious and even contemplative values. The emphasis on and popularity of the human sciences, the interest

16. S. Chodak for example writes: "Societal development has... become... the subject of despair and lamentations. Nowdays attention tends to be more often focused on its negative consequences: on the destruction of the environment, pollution, uneven distribution of wealth, alienation of people and social institutions, depersonalization of individuals, destruction of communal life, transformation of people into elements and cogs of the all-engulfing industrial complexes, increasing sterility of democracy, and above all generation of gigantic systems which the individual is often unable to oppose or control". ("Societal Development. Five Approaches with Conclusions from Comparative Analysis", Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1973, p. 13).

17. This paragraph owes much to a recent issue of "Convergence" on "Societies in Crisis: A call to Christians", 1975 no. 1-2; see esp. pp. 42, 45-46, 50-51.

in various laboratories in human relationships and group living, the search for new styles of life, and "an art of living" [greater simplicity and spirit of sharing in the use of **earthly goods**; **deeper interpersonal relationship** and community life in a more informal, spontaneous and human atmosphere; etc] also denote certain forms of protest and aspiration towards a new society.

A certain number of persons in the West have also grown aware of the miserable plight of two thirds of mankind living in the Third World. In spite of a certain diversity of views among experts, they realise that this condition is greatly connected with the colonisation process, the existing structures of world trade, and their own production-consumption-pollution levels. Similarly, they know that the internal structures of their own countries are partly responsible for the oppression of a sizable minority of their people. Their uneasiness is increasing. Indeed, how can people, with any sense of justice and charity, accept such a world, especially after they have discovered that unlimited economic growth for all countries and people is impossible? Dickinson rightly points out: "The limits-to-growth debate brought a new emphasis on social justice... if the pie is of limited size and if almost half of it is eaten by a handful of people, this is visibly more unjust than if it is believed that the pie is getting bigger all the time. When it was assumed that the pie could always be made bigger, the rich could assume that they would never have to curtail or "sacrifice" their standard, and the poor could be assuaged with the hope that some day they, too, could live like the rich. Now the moral questions are more visible and insistent. What right does 5% of the world's population have to arrogate to itself the consumption of almost half of the world's annual use of non-renewable resources? And by what moral jiu-jitsu can an increase in that inequity of consumption be justified?.... what of the future? What right do those who happen to live in the latter part of the 20th century have to usurp resources which may be needed by their own grandchildren and great grandchildren?.... The limits-to-growth debate should now force development strategists to put social justice in a more central place in setting objectives and articulating plans."¹⁸

This overall crisis of developed countries challenges the very concept of development. New questions are raised more and more often: "what is development? What is its purpose? If we take into account the problems of world resources and environmental pollution, how much of economic development is

possible for the whole of mankind? and for how long? how much importance should be given to building up a greater equality between nations, regions, and peoples? how much of equality do we want? how to achieve our goals when vested interests oppose them? If we consider the cultural effects of development and industrialization on mankind, how much of economic development is desirable? what is the meaning of life? what type of society do we want to build? What "quality of life" and "styles of life", and values, are we looking for? should we and can we fix certain "maximum and minimum standards of living"? how to reduce production and consumption in developed countries, a measure as important as family planning in poor countries? how to put a limit to our needs and to pollution? how to control man's appetite for wealth, prestige and power? how to create new men and women, ready to work hard with their brothers and sisters for the common good?"

Having realised that human happiness and values cannot be measured exclusively in terms of economic growth and standards of living, many people in the Western world are reflecting on their culture and civilization; reassessing their history – for example, the questions of "the original inhabitants of the land", the slave trade, the past and present wars; and reconsidering their attitudes towards traditional societies. They are becoming more able to enter into dialogue with members of traditional societies and learn much, from their wisdom about the "meaning" and "quality of life"; they are questioning many basic assumptions of their civilization and trying to discover and invent new ways of living in relation to nature, other people, our human community and God.

We can, therefore, conclude that large sections of developed countries are growing more and more aware that, besides being a question of techniques and possibilities, development is a problem of goals and values.¹⁹ The processes of development, and the priorities that men select at different stages of history, depend as much on their values as on their resources. Development involves the meaning men give to their lives and the project they formulate for themselves. For the western world today, development implies search for a new humanism. It means humanisation. More and more people are discovering that the new civilization they are dreaming of will not be the

19. Eugen Pusic writes: "For all people, whatever the social and economic system in which they live, social development has two aspects: it is a question of possibilities, of what they want and of what they are able to achieve, or in the most general sense of these terms, a problem of values and a problem of techniques" (in "Social Welfare and Social Development", Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, 1972, p. 11).

natural child of science and technology ; it can only spring from the subordination of technology to a human project of life.²⁰ Since most people in rich countries are the beneficiaries of the present capitalist system and have very few meaningful and human contacts with the oppressed in their own countries and in the Third World, they do not yet think much in terms of socialism. The day will, perhaps, dawn when they discover better the functioning of society and realise that the establishment of certain forms of socialism in the whole World is required for the genuine development of all men and for world peace. For the present, developed countries tend to focus their attention on certain basic questions concerning the meaning of life and the happiness of man in society. These questions confront mankind with clear options whenever it succeeds in satisfying its basic needs. These questions are also being asked more often in advanced socialist countries and are very relevant for the type of socialist countries we strive to build.

It might be good to conclude this section by a short African story: "Once upon a time there was a very long snake. A very very, very long one. One day, when it was hanging from the trees and bushes, it saw its own tail, which appeared to it as very ugly. The snake wanted to kill it, and so it chased it among the bushes. The faster it ran, the faster the tail escaped. Finally it died from exhaustion. Which one died, the tail or the snake?"²¹ Are developed nations, at the pursuit of economic development, destroying themselves along with the rest of the planet? or will they succeed in their search for humanization?

III. THE WELFARE APPROACH

Before considering modernization, it is worth saying a few words about the welfare approach. This approach is deeply rooted in the mentality of religious-minded people and humanists and is favoured by many private agencies and governments in both developed and in developing countries. The fabulous investments in men and money that welfare enjoys, compels us to reflect seriously on whether it deserves it or not. In spite of the historical significance of this approach in the past to help the masses, and of our admiration for so many great religious and humanitarian benefactors, we urgently need to reassess the welfare approach.

20. V. Cosmao, "Développement et foi", Cerf, 1972, pp. 42 & 46.

21. Quoted in S. Chodak, op. cit., p. 2.

The welfare approach springs from a certain understanding of misery and underdevelopment. Many generous-minded people consider the sufferings of the masses as the effects of natural disasters, as in the case of floods and drought, and as the more or less normal and unavoidable condition of certain sections of society. They look at the phenomena of poverty, sickness, unemployment around them and, without seriously reflecting on the root-causes of these problems, they set about to help the "victims" that come their way. Unconsciously or not, they assume a rather fatalistic attitude toward the eradication of these problems. Certain modern benefactors may, of course, have a deeper understanding of society. For all practical purposes, in reality, this type of work is oriented towards relief. By and large and in practice, deeply religious-minded persons have accepted existing societies as God's will.

In such a context where people do not yet possess a scientific understanding of society and do not function in terms of structural change—such an attitude was very widespread and rather unavoidable till the recent progress of human sciences-, generosity and charity assume a great importance. For them, these are the only forms of protest and action against natural infirmities and disasters. They assume that these are, in fact, the real gestures of brotherhood and solidarity. We should, therefore, appreciate those who have succeeded, in the past, to institutionalise, to a certain extent, welfare measures in feudalistic and in caste societies. When these societies broke down under the pressure of capitalism and when, consequently, the needs became far greater, religious organisations, such as parishes, monasteries and mutts, answered the challenge and charity became increasingly organised. Various specialized institutions and agencies were born and tried to reduce human misery. Later on, laws were passed and "special programmes" created to help the weakest sections of society. Welfare states even came into existence. It should be noticed that all these measures and concrete strategies to alleviate suffering stem from the same generosity and from the same unscientific understanding of human misery. It also continues to emphasize the same acceptance of and fatalism towards the structures of society.

To evaluate such an approach, we must first of all discover the historical origin of organised charity and of the welfare state. W. A. Friedlander, a well-known author on the subject, writes: "The concept and the term "social welfare" in the sense of a scientific program, have only recently developed in connection with the social problems of our industrial society. Poverty, sickness, suffering, and social disorganization have existed throughout the history of mankind, but the industrial

society of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had to face so many social problems that the older human institutions—family, neighbourhood, church, and local community—could no longer adequately meet them. The need for a broader system of social services resulted... It was only about one hundred years ago that the magnitude of social problems made it necessary to organise, under private and public initiative, social services for the needy.²² Even a limited study of the history of the welfare approach and a superficial analysis of the functioning of society reveal that most of the evils treated by the welfare approach are the inevitable by-products of certain forms of societal organization.

The truth of these statements will become clearer in further booklets as we study in depth the functioning of society. For the present, without condemning the good will and dedication of past and present social workers and without denying the occasional necessity of relief work and welfare measures, it might be sufficient to see the great limitations and pitfalls of the welfare approach under all its forms. This approach completely fails to attack the root-causes of the problems. It often develops attitudes of dependence, laziness, and passivity among the poor. It either creates or fosters divisions among the recipients. It moreover, prevents both social workers as well as the beneficiaries from understanding the nature of the problems and tends to divert their attention from real issues. It anaesthetizes the oppressed recipients by giving them temporary satisfactions and compensations. It may calm the guilt-complex of the rich donors who acquire a "good conscience" from their gifts and "charitable works" without actually changing their attitudes and getting involved in more meaningful and radical forms of action.

Let us now turn to the modernization approach which attempts to give a more positive solution to the problems of underdevelopment. In the last section of this booklet, we shall see how, in a socialist society—in which there is such a radical re-structuring—welfare measures are practically superfluous.

IV. THE MODERNIZATION APPROACH

We have seen how, after the Second World War and the sharp awakening to the reality of poverty and inequalities in the world, development efforts were launched with optimism. Developed and developing countries joined hands and fostered the modernization approach, which is basically an extension of

22. "Introduction to Social Welfare", second edition, Prentice-Hall of India Ltd., New Delhi, 1967. p. 3.

capitalism in the Third World. Except in a few countries where socialism was resolutely adopted, the elite of the developing nations placed their faith in a capitalist pattern of development. The socialist measures sometimes introduced, were integrated in this overall orientation. Modernization holds a key position in development theories. It is still widely accepted today in spite of a poor performance in the field. Governments and private agencies in many countries are influenced by this approach in their planning-extension work and the community development programmes are illustrations of this. It is, therefore, worth analysing in depth this concept of development with all its assumptions and implications.²³ Once again, we shall consider this approach "from within" and follow the learning experience of mankind as it progressively discovered the weaknesses of modernization.

Analysis of the Concept of Modernization

As any other approach, modernization rests on a certain understanding of poverty and underdevelopment. It implies a linear and evolutionary concept of development. A "time-lag" is presumed between developed and developing countries. "Backward countries" have to steadily increase their production and standard of living and thus "catch up" with "advanced countries". They have to reach the same goals and to travel the same roads, but at a quicker pace. Modernization, therefore, involves the "Growth Theory", or at least, the "Growth Plus Theory"²⁴, with its heavy stress on increased production and economic growth, rather than on the removal of poverty and on equal distribution of wealth. The cake, it is often repeated, has to be bigger before it can be shared. Since developed nations have successfully followed this path, modernization relies on industrialization and on rather sophisticated and capital intensive technology.²⁵ Family planning campaigns and methods are also of prime importance to keep down the birth rate and thus to promote economic growth.

23. The following pages deal with the general characteristics of modernization more than with the theories it engendered. For these theories, see appendix 3.

24. For a deeper explanation of these theories, see appendix 4.

25. This expression designates an "advanced" type of technology which requires great capital investments and less manpower. For this reason, it is sometimes called "labour saving technology". On the other hand, a "labour intensive technology" will be more simple; it will involve less expenses on machinery, but will require more workers. The expressions "intermediate" and "appropriate technology" describe a type of technology that tries to strike a balance between the two previous extremes and take more into account local situations and needs.

Today, almost all the proponents of the modernization approach recommend the intervention of the state through central planning, also through the nationalisation of certain sectors of the economy. These countries therefore speak of a "mixed economy" and of various forms of "social democracy" or of "democratic socialism". They also aim at a certain redistribution of wealth or, more modestly, at the removal of the most distressing cases of misery, by taxation and by welfare programmes for the weaker sections of society. We recognize here the welfare approach.

On the cultural level, modernization leads to the acceptance of the ideals of Western countries and the adoption of their attitudes and values. No economic and technological progress, it is argued, can be achieved without realising the importance of the "human factor" in development.²⁶ E. Pusic for example writes: "Even economic theoreticians have pointed out the importance of the human factor, of the existence of social structures which enable and give meaning to certain decision and moves, of initiative, of the will to work, of entrepreneurial capability and motivation. More and more it seems that in the total sum of conditions for development, human qualities are decisive for the potential of a community to initiate, sustain and accelerate the process of economic growth".²⁷ Traditional societies have, therefore, to be modernized and to adopt more "rational" attitudes and values: hard work and discipline, desire for material progress, sense of saving, foresight, team spirit and collaboration, creativity, spirit of responsibility and initiative, entrepreneurship, boldness, etc. Development requires the removal of ignorance and superstitions, the spreading of modern education and the creation of new motivations. To a great extent, modernization, then, means Westernization, or at least, the reinterpretation and revival of traditional cultures and religions according to modern criteria and values - in India, we witnessed this phenomenon in the Hindu Renaissance.

Modernization has also been called the "diffusion theory", for it takes for granted that the beneficial effects of development will more or less automatically spread to the lower sections of society. The policy was one of "betting on the strong" for the achievement of a spectacular progress through collaboration with the rich and educated, for industrial growth and agricultural production. Development would, therefore, be attained by a process of "levelling up" instead of one of "levelling down". Modernization assumes that, both econo-

26. See Kusum Nair, "Blossoms in the Dust, The Human Factor in Indian Development", Praeger Paperbacks, New York, 1969.

27. op. cit., pp. 21-22.

mically and culturally, development is a process which emanates from the rich nations, regions and centres to the poor ones and from the "elite" to the lower sections of society. Growth is expected to "trickle down" to all.

Another characteristic of modernization is worth mentioning : it implies harmonious and peaceful development. It assumes the good will, altruism and disinterestedness of rich nations and sections of society in their efforts to "help the poor".²⁸ If their humanity and sense of generosity and justice are not great enough, at least their enlightened self-interest will inspire them. The modernization approach constantly calls on the "whole community", which it considers one and unified, to work for development. Relief and development workers are expected to be friendly with all and to avoid taking sides. Since peace, law and order, matter so much for production and, therefore, for development, the government protects them at all costs and prevents the spreading of dissatisfaction and protest by "anti-social" elements.

Though more and more widely discarded, these views are still held today by various economists and politicians. Recently Brian Johnson thus summed up this school of thought: "Investment in technology, so long as it is sufficient, will be able to banish beyond limits all practical horizons of concern. On this analysis, the accumulation and re-investment of profits or surplus, whether from the state or the private sector, must take precedence over their distribution. Either inducements or official decisions to accumulate society's surplus will, of course, fuel faster economic growth, which, like a powerful automobile, generates the reserves of power that are required to pull both rich and poor societies out of dangerous situations. In the new economic order debates at the UN, Dr. Henry Kissinger and Mr. Daniel Moynihan have championed this approach against growing doubt as to the human and environmental viability of such neo-classical economic thinking".²⁹

V. K. R. V. Rao gives us an example of such thinking in India: "What we must remember, is the need for a national will for economic development. National will means national discipline. National discipline has to be both individual and collective. As individuals, we have to work hard, save more, and be ready to compromise, if not actually give up, our personal or sectional or group claims in the larger public

28. A. R. Desai speaks of the assumption of "santa claus relationships" between the rich and the poor (op. cit., p. xiv).

29. In the newspaper of the UN, "Development Forum", Nov. 1975, p. 1.

interest. Functioning collectively, as government and otherwise, we have to concentrate on production and productivity, capital formation and investment, science and technology, and the utilization of both material and human resources in the collective interest. We must become obsessed with economic development; and both sleeping and waking, we have to concentrate on when, how, and how soon we can raise the rate of economic growth"³⁰

Evaluation of the Modernization Approach

The development problems and viewpoints of the Third World are understandably very different from those of the First and Second Worlds. While the latter experience a profound crisis because of the human and cultural repercussions of an affluent society, developing nations find it difficult to afford the luxury of thinking much about world resources, pollution or the cultural and human crises. Though they sometimes speak of the "quality of life", their emphasis remains on the material dimensions of development.³¹ They consequently criticize and judge various theories by their success or failure to help the majority of their people. Developing nations are also becoming rather defensive and suspicious when modern experts tend to play down the economic dimensions of development. For them, indeed, economic growth and development is a must.

Development efforts based on the modernization approach have so far yielded very disappointing results. In the field of economic growth, the picture seems rather confused, for the rate of development varies from one country to another. On the whole, however, progress has usually been slower than expected and no large country has reached the take-off stage. While impressive statistics can sometimes be given on the growth of agricultural and industrial production; on the number of students enrolled in educational institutions; that of Government employees in the fields of health, education and public services; a further question has to be asked: who progresses? Our personal experience in India and in other countries is confirmed by statistics: the effects of the First Development Decade have hardly reached the 40% to 70% of the lowest strata of the populations of poor countries³² Dickinson thus

30. "Values and Economic Development, The Indian Challenge". Vikas Publications, 1971, p. 99.

31. On the importance of Economic Development, see appendix 1.

32. H. B. M. Homji, from ECAFE, in "Effective Anti-poverty Strategies", published by Friesrich-Eber Stiftung, in Bangkok, Thailand, 1973, p. 8.

evaluates the world situation in 1974: "The plight of the poor remains hardly better, perhaps worse, than six years ago. The Green Revolution, while a boon, has not offset the disastrous effects of drought, floods, reduced fertilizer and the exodus from the countryside. Today more people are malnourished and starving than six years ago. The battle for improved health is plagued by shortage of health services, especially in rural areas. Forty percent of the world's people still have no access to health services. Formal education is little better suited to the needs of people, and no more universal than six years ago. The number of illiterates has risen. Industrialization and economic growth have not produced enough new jobs: the number of people without work is increasing. In spite of widespread governmental initiation of family planning programmes (87% of the world's people live in countries with official population planning policies), world population continues to grow at 80 million people per year. Efforts to vitalize rural areas, where such efforts have been made, have not stopped the burgeoning growth of ill-equipped cities"³³

Many development writers, as a result, speak of unequal and uneven development. Present policies lead to increased disparities between countries, regions and social classes. The modernization approach results in discontent and dissatisfaction: people who succeed to acquire a better standard of living crave for more, while the increase of inequalities, along with the spread of education and the mass media, leads to greater social awareness and propagates restlessness. In varied degrees, the modernization approach has failed to reach its objectives of economic growth, social justice and self-reliance³⁴ and to bring about peace in developing nations. Results were often contrary. Disparities and restlessness have grown. Development and aid have turned out to be instability factors.³⁵ It has, therefore, become urgent to understand the failure of the modernization approach and to reorientate our policies accordingly.

Before concluding this section, let us consider now in detail how the modernization approach is built upon (1) ambiguous and false comparisons with the West, (2) mistaken economic assumptions and (2) the neglect of human and structural factors.

33. op. cit., p. 34.

34. On the relationships between these three aspects of development, see Marion Gallis, "Trade for Justice : Myth or Mandate?", WCC, Geneva, 1972.

35. See appendix-6.

I. Ambiguous Comparisons with the West³⁶

Modernization theories first of all took for granted that the development process will more or less reproduce the history of Western nations. A long-neglected fact invalidates this basic assumption: there are fundamental differences between the conditions which prevailed in today's rich nations at the beginning of their development process and those which are found in the Third World in 1976.

Modern experts discuss the existence and depth of these differences in certain sectors: Were there then less inequalities between social classes in countries considered developed today? And more mobility? Was the standard of living higher? And the resources greater? Were economic, social and political institutions more favourable to progress? Were people, in their attitudes and values, more inclined towards development? Such questions remain debated among experts. It has, however, become clear that one cannot too easily draw comparisons between countries in these respect and assume that development will follow a similar pattern.

Three or four other factors show still more strikingly the ambiguity and the falsity of such comparisons. The density of the population in the Third World today and its rate of growth, and consequently the resources available per person, give an entirely different background to the whole development process. Migrations have become more difficult and less frequent. There is also no doubt that the process of colonisation, with the market mechanisms and the "specialisations in world trade" that it set up and fostered, had and still have a tremendous impact on development and industrialization in the West, and on misery and poverty in the Third World. Today, the possibilities for conquest, colonisation and exploitation, even through finance capital, at least for developing countries, are slender, if not practically non-existent. Though the importance of this factor is differently assessed and varies from one nation to another, it constitutes another major difference in the existing conditions. Certain writers add that nowadays people have grown more socially conscious and less tolerant towards stark poverty and increasing inequalities. This psychological factor has also to be taken into account when studying and planning development processes. It should, moreover, be noted that, in the West, the benefits of development did not spread more or less spontaneously and automatically to the poorer classes of society. Western history does not present the picture of a romantic and harmonious march towards

36. For this section, see G. Myrdal, op. cit., "Differences in Conditions", pp. 46-59
A few extracts are given in appendix 5.

development, as some would like us to believe. The poor had indeed to fight for their rights: changes towards greater equality and social justice came about through revolutions, trade-unions' struggles, pressures of liberal-minded groups for better legislation and welfare programmes, state intervention. And even to day, these rights are not yet fully recognised! It should finally be remarked that welfare programmes can hardly have any noticeable impact on countries where so many millions live in conditions of misery and destitution.

Development theories and planning must, therefore, put aside ambiguous and false comparisons and recognise that today the Third World struggles in a completely different historical context and with different assets and drawbacks. Slavish imitation of past models and processes inevitably end up in failure!

2. The Mistaken Economics of the Approach³⁷

Let us now turn to the Economics of the modernization approach. Capital is considered the most important factor. Greater investments would bring about increase in production, and therefore in GNP and in economic growth. This process was to take place in a more or less "free market system", regulated by the forces of supply and demand. Capital had to be attracted by the provision of suitable incentives and concessions for foreign and local investments, and exemptions from high taxes. Industrialization was expected to make a leap forward and to absorb more and more labour. It was widely accepted, especially in countries adopting "mixed economies" or "socialist measures", that planning and state intervention were required to prevent crying abuses and to foster development. Hence a certain amount of nationalisation, the creation of the public and private sectors, legislation on imports, exports, licences, minimum wages. In such a system, great efforts are made to maximise production and to ensure stability. The State itself is supposed to defend the rights and interests of the workers which, in effect, undermines the development of strong unions with real bargaining power.. The State also promises to bring about greater equality and, still more, to improve the lot of the weaker sections of society; taxation and public expenditure/special programmes in favour of the poor are expected to achieve these ends.

As previously shown, such results usually fail to materialise. This model almost presupposes that development takes place

37. For further details, read appendix-7.

in a vacuum and loses sight of the concrete conditions in which the system functions. It underplays, if it takes them into account at all, the inequalities already existing in contemporary society. It neglects the existence of power groups with their interests, privileges and influences. Since certain sections of society exercise such a great influence on and even control the existing system, both in urban and rural areas, they direct the process of development according to their own advantages. Powerful groups easily pressurize the State. In spite of its radical declarations in favour of the poor, the State is "soft"; it lacks the will and determination to change the present situation.³⁸ The system functions in favour of the "haves": namely, the rich and the educated.

The core motive of the system emphasizes the maximisation of profits. The rich, who possess the purchasing power, the effective demand, command the market and often tend to imitate Western standards of living with their conspicuous consumption. Industrialisation responds to this effective demand and produces luxury articles which give higher rates of profit. As good businessmen, they do it at the minimum cost, often introducing sophisticated and capital intensive technology, thus increasing unemployment. It is relatively easy for entrepreneurs to pay low wages and to provide only miserable and inhuman conditions of work. Poverty and unemployment place the workers at the mercy of the landlords and industrialists. The state accentuates the situation by limiting or forbidding strikes. Whenever the labour force is so large and employment so scarce, favoritism and corruption unavoidably prevail. Extreme poverty drives people to borrow for their subsistence needs and for burials and family feasts; money-lenders prosper, for no bank or credit society would lend money in such circumstances. All this creates a vicious circle, because the poverty of industrial and agricultural workers prevents them from exercising an effective demand on the market.

The modernization approach, therefore, ends with the abundance of luxury articles and the scarcity of basic goods; with sophisticated technology and unemployment, low wages, debts and bonded labour. It produces the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many. The limited resources of the nation are thus used by a small group for their selfish interests.

3. The Neglect of Human and Structural Factors

Since such criticisms are often voiced in the Development Debate, a few words should be added here about the neglect of human and structural factors.

38. On the "Soft State", see Myrdal, op. cit., p. 211 ff.

We have already mentioned that in the early phases of modernization, human factors, such as attitudes and values, were neglected; development experts and workers soon discovered this mistake and fully integrated their new vision into the modernization approach. In the last decade, however, a new trend of thought can be discerned. The crisis of developed countries, studied in our second section, invites the Third World, so badly in need of economic growth, to be more than cautious about the human and cultural repercussions of development and modernization. This throws a new light on the tendency, among some sections of the Third World, inspired by their heritage and/or a certain nationalism, to expose the harmful effects of modernization on traditional values and attitudes and to reject the excesses of Western civilization.³⁹ While this theme can be treated in a conservative or even reactionary manner, it may also lead to creative thinking, from an indigenous standpoint, on the goals and processes of development. In this way, the vision of a more human society can be brought to bear on all our planning and development efforts.

Instead of presenting them here as criticisms, needed structural changes will be described in a more positive way in the next section. Our final evaluation of the modernization approach will also be combined with our introduction on the institutional or structural approach.

V-THE INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE APPROACHES

We did not criticize capitalism and its spread to the Third World because we like feudalistic and traditional societies or because we fear technology and modernization. We do not underplay either the importance of economic growth and increased production, especially for poor countries. Though material progress often brings in its wake a crisis of civilization, it is absolutely necessary for the future of mankind. In our world of poverty and misery, economic development constitutes an essential and fundamental dimension of the human liberation which we are looking for. Science, technology and material progress should not be rejected but humanized. Along with the vast majority of present day experts, we however, reject the modernization approach as we consider it insufficient. Apart from its questionable value system and ideal of society, it has failed to bring about economic growth and, still more, to distribute it justly, thereby increasing inequalities in the world and creating a situation of unrest which invites the masses to

39. For an introduction to this debate, read Yogendra Singh, "Modernization of Indian Tradition", Thomson Press (India) Ltd., Delhi, 1973.

revolt. It is the very nature of the modernization approach which produces the above mentioned results. In our previous section, we have reflected on the assumptions of the modernization approach as well as on its concepts of poverty and development and on the financial and technological solutions it offers to the problems of world misery. We have also discovered how the mechanisms of society operate in such a way as to render ineffective development efforts based on such a pattern.

Contemporary experts on development generally agree to go beyond the modernization approach. In fact, their economic analysis is often influenced by and combined with many insights of both the socialist-marxist tradition and of the economists who wrote from the viewpoint of the colonized. Besides, their analysis even reinforces the above mentioned trends. In the last two sections of our booklet, we shall study their extremely varied views on the topic. We shall now be satisfied with preliminary critical remarks and postpone our final evaluation till after the acquisition of scientific tools of societal analysis in the third booklet. In the fifth section, we have grouped together different approaches which usually fall short of socialism and very seldom lead to revolutionary movements. We shall consider socialist approaches, more often revolutionary, in the sixth and concluding section.

The move to go beyond the modernization approach is fairly common. P. T. Bauer, who strongly opposes these more recent trends of thought, even speaks of "the new orthodoxy of economic development".⁴⁰ S. L. Parmar expresses a widespread feeling when he writes: "Any growth process unsupported by radical changes in the "non-economic" determinants of development will prove self-defeating. Disillusionment with the first Development Decade, its "aid weariness" and "development despair," is a consequence of non-structuralist approaches."⁴¹ In the last decade, more and more development experts look on structural changes as pre-conditions for development and world peace. They, at least, recognize the importance of these changes. The United Nations, for example, fully endorses such an approach in its Declarations on the Second Development Decade and on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.⁴² The Head of the Catholic Church, Pope Paul VI and the Pontifical "Commission for

40. "Dissent on Development", Vikas Publishing House, 1973, p. 17; see also pp. 308-9.

41. in Dickinson, op. cit., p. 168.

42. See appendices 9 and 10.

Justice and Peace"⁴³, along with numerous development workers as well as politicians, also seem to belong to this school of thought.

The new orthodoxy in the field of development grew out of the failure of the modernization approach. It is based on its critical analysis. Its three main elements can be easily discerned. There is, first of all, the conviction that non-economic factors—that is, the overall social context of society with its institutions and structures—play a preponderant role in development; this is why structural reforms are advocated. Various writers call this approach "institutional", "structural" and "social" (1). Contrary to the "Growth" and "Diffusion" theories, this strategy of development recommends a direct attack on poverty and pays great attention to the proper distribution of wealth; it can therefore be spoken of as the "social justice approach" (2). The adherents of this approach usually work through the existing political system, though their stand towards politics greatly varies (3). The study of these three characteristics, differently emphasized and interpreted, will help us to understand better this type of approach to development. It will also show us how we could even distinguish, in this general framework, various approaches to development itself.

1. The Need for Structural Reforms

Myrdal contends that the attitudes and the values of the people, as well as the economic, social and political institutions and structures of their societies, matter as much, if not more, for development, as purely economic factors. He defines development as "the movement upward of the whole social system"⁴⁴ and constantly insists on the need for restructuring the institutions in developing countries. The following quotation of a United Nations' report of an expert Group Meeting in Stockholm, in 1969, too, very well reflects Myrdal's own thinking. "The time has now come when the economic approach to development analysis and planning has to be integrated with a social approach which is different in nature and would be more relevant to the problems of developing countries in the coming Decade".⁴⁵ In the same spirit, Konrad

43. See for example the encyclical "Populorum Progressio" of 1967, and the article of Cardinal Roy, "Christian Commitment to the Second Development Decade", in "Impact" Vol VIII, no. 8-9, 1973, pp. 279-283.

44. op. cit., p. 264.

45. Quoted by Myrdal, op. cit., p. 392. For the author's views, see also appendices 8 and 11.

Seitz stresses the need for four essential reforms: (1) a radical land reform, accompanied by a comprehensive support programme for the newly created small holdings, as the only way of solving the employment problem in the countryside; (2) an industrial reform, promoting "labour-intensive small and medium-sized firms and intermediate technology"; (3) an educational reform, "resulting in a school system suited to the requirements of employment structure and development strategy" and (4) a far greater emphasis on family planning.⁴⁶ The United Nations has also grown more and more aware of the importance of the human and structural dimensions of development. In its intensive study on development and underdevelopment, a special consultant of ESCAP states: "The United Nations Social and Economic Council and General Assembly have recommended that conditions be created for growth with equity, for participation by all people in the development process, for priority to be given to the development of human potentialities and the introduction of profound structural reforms."⁴⁷ E. Pusic emphasizes and spells out the all important need for structural reforms as envisaged by this world body: "The UN Report on the World Social Situation [1965] lists the main social factors which inhibit the participation of people in the development effort and thus compromise the whole plan. These are the existing patterns of land-ownership and land-utilization, castes and classes, extreme poverty and apathy, absence of technical know-how, lack of appropriate institutions, mistrust of government and over-dependence on it, isolation and illiteracy, the conflict between suggested changes and existing cultural and religious values, the insufficiency of the existing administrative machinery."⁴⁸

These texts reveal both the importance to be given to structural reforms, and, the extent, limitations and the type of changes visualized by the proponents of this approach. It should be noticed, however, that there is a good deal of variety among the suggested institutional changes. This approach undoubtedly goes deeper in the analysis of today's society. It suggests solutions to tackle its basic problems, but it also avoids breaking away from the capitalist pattern of society. It often favours certain socialist measures while it also tries to find a "third way" between capitalism and socialism. It is in this context that we could speak of the "neo-modernization" approach.

46. "Aid as an Instability Factor", in "Impact", Vol. VIII, no. 8-9, 1973, pp. 312-13.

47. "Premises and Implications of a Unified Approach to Development Analysis and Planning", United Nations, ESCAP, (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific,) 1975, p. 1.

48. op. cit., pp. 24-25.

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2. The Concern for Social Justice

The institutional approach usually focuses the attention on the issue of inequality, while concern for social justice becomes a driving force for social change.

In their analysis of society, the defenders of this approach depict for us how the existing inequalities distort the whole development process and lead to an ever increasing gap between the rich and the poor.⁴⁹ At the level of strategy, they are convinced that oppressed groups and nations can develop only in the context of a direct attack on poverty and a more just distribution of wealth and power. Instead of depending disproportionately on capital formation and more modern attitudes and values, development ultimately rests on patterns of land distribution and land utilization, employment, wages and the level of food consumption. The eradication of poverty becomes a condition *sine qua non* for greater production.⁵⁰ It is in this context that the capacity of socialism to release new productive forces is sometimes mentioned. Whatever the operative definition of social justice be, it is important for us to remember that, in this approach, social justice does not mean relief measures, but permanent structural changes. While some adherents of this social justice approach place their emphasis on the search for economic development, as seen in the previous paragraph, others insist more on social justice as a value in itself. The latter, therefore, contend that, whatever might be the causal relationship between income distribution and growth performance, social justice, as a human value and priority, should be always promoted.⁵¹

While sharing a great concern for social justice, the adherents of this approach evidently vary in their understanding of the specific relationships between growth and equality. Their focus on the quantity or the quality of equality they are looking for, in the economic, social, and political structures of society, also is varied. While some are clear about it, others seem to offer only vague reflections on these issues.

3. The Attitudes Towards Established Governments

Development experts and workers who have taken a stand in favour of structural changes and social justice, without

49. See our previous pages on 'The Mistaken Economics of the Modernization Approach'.

50. See appendix 11.

51. See for example the remarks of C. Elliott, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

generally adopting socialism, vary greatly in their attitudes towards politics and established governments. Many of them work with the assumption that existing governments are the main agents of social change. This confidence leads them to work "within the system", either through political action or various development activities. Most often, it is a recognized fact, these persons are not highly politicized. The partisans of this approach, moreover, share with the "modernizers" their concern for peace with an emphasis on law and order. They usually believe in non-violence. It is also in this overall context that they speak of people's participation in development. R.D.N. Dickinson refers to this approach as the "United Nations Approach".⁵² Roughly, this approach corresponds to the stand of Paul VI, too, and to that of numerous governments and development workers throughout the world.

Those who are very strongly inspired by their search for social justice tend to be somewhat "militant". Here again the degree of confidence in existing governments and the understanding of the people's role in development do vary as also the degree of politicization. Without clearly opting for socialism, but because of its stand in favour of social justice, the World Council of Churches has, for example, become involved in highly controversial questions, such as that of political prisoners, etc. It has also encouraged various "conscientization programmes" which have directly or indirectly caused certain political repercussions. In general, the proponents of this approach struggle for structural changes and social justice according to what is "legal", though they tend to shun overall political involvement and to restrict their action to the micro level. Sometimes they go so far as to organise "pressure groups" "or protest movements", more or less permitted or tolerated by the system, but they very seldom try to overthrow established political powers. In fact, as C. Elliott interestingly points out: "The modernizing structuralist would say that the total change in some structures amounts to a revolution. But the time-scale envisaged is usually so long that to talk of revolution is to empty that word of real meaning."⁵³

It is difficult always to perceive the exact source and strength of such confidence that existing governments will promote structural changes and social justice. Some defenders of this approach may not have even reflected seriously on this issue; they have inherited this conviction from tradition. Others may unconsciously be influenced by their own economic and

52. op. cit., p. 63.

53. op. cit., p. 58, footnote 17.

political power, their fear of violence, and their desire to ensure their "religious freedom". There may, finally, be a group which has seriously considered the issue, and come to the conclusion that this is the truth or the best available solution or strategy. Economists, such as C. T. Kurien and G. Myrdal strongly criticize traditional economics for completely neglecting the Problem of Power in society. They attribute the failure of many development efforts to the negative and selfish influence of certain power groups in the world who function in terms of their own vested interests.⁵⁴ Whether one relies much on established governments or not, such are the hard facts which have to be taken into account in the struggle for social justice and structural changes.

Our reflections on the various characteristics of the structural approach has led us to discover a very wide spectrum of involvements. In fact, the emphasis on one or the other of these characteristics almost constitutes in itself a specific approach to development. Those who strive to bring about structural changes may remain very close to the modernization approach; it depends on the type of changes they envision. Those who are inspired by the concern for social justice are usually led to deeper involvements. The attitudes adopted towards politics and existing governments also qualify these two approaches. The first two elements of our analysis—the need for structural reforms and the concern for social justice—explain the title of this section. "The Institutional and Social Justice Approaches". Taking into account the third element, that is, the attitude towards established governments, we could read it also as "The Institutional and Social Justice Political and non-Political Approaches".

VI-THE SOCIALIST APPROACHES

It is grossly incomplete to speak of development without studying socialist approaches. In the following pages, we make use of the word "socialism" to categorise an economic system distinct from capitalism. We shall, first of all, consider two or three major characteristics that differentiate socialist approaches to development from the institutional and social justice approaches (1). We shall also offer certain criteria to classify various socialist approaches (2). As in our previous section, we shall be satisfied with an overall view of the issues at stake and of possible solutions to them.

54. See appendix 7.

I-MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALIST APPROACHES

On the basis of a particular understanding of the functioning of the economic, political and ideological structures of society, genuine socialism proposes a new economic and, social order, ushered in by a political power which is motivated by, and which promotes, in turn, a new value-system and a different ideal of society.

Let us, first of all, describe in a nutshell, and in terms acceptable to various forms of socialism, the alternative offered by socialism. Socialist thinkers do not only affirm that capitalism and modernization cannot bring about the development of poorer countries and weaker sections of society, but they mainly contend that there is an intrinsic and even causal relationship between the wealth and development of a few individuals or groups or countries and the poverty and the underdevelopment of a vast majority of mankind; they see this relationship both at the national and international levels. Besides this basic analysis of the capitalist system, socialist thinkers are aware of the close relationship between and interdependence of economic and political power. They realise that economic power usually goes hand in hand directly or indirectly with political power, and that political power, in turn, tends to strengthen the concentration of wealth in the hands of the already wealthy. This remains true, as long as a socialist government does not, in the name and for the good of all the people, and especially of the oppressed, take a definite and firm stand to establish a new economic order based, not on the maximisation of profits, but on the needs of all and on social goals. This is the function of a socialist government. It cannot be satisfied with piecemeal and limited reforms, however radical they might be. It has to establish a new economic and social order in which values such as equality, brotherhood, common good, participation and co-operation, will be effectively realised and promoted in the structures of society at all levels. Decisions have constantly to be made according to these criteria. Only in this way can genuine freedom for all the people exist in society. Socialism, therefore, implies the rejection of the capitalist hierarchy of values and the acceptance of a new value-system and a new ideal of society. It involves an ideological, a cultural revolution. To the degree that socialist values have been internalised, a society has progressed on the road to socialism.

In view of understanding still more clearly the socialist approach to development, it might be worthwhile to quote at length a text which compares it to the modernization approach: "One approach to the problems of poor countries is based on the belief that underdevelopment must be understood as a set of properties characteristic of backwardness which can be

overcome if these countries realize appropriate improvements and reforms and increase their trade with the rich countries and receive aid from them. This would enable them to move in the direction of modernization and finally to reach the condition of development. Another interpretation of the genesis of underdevelopment holds that the poor countries have developed unevenly as the result of their colonial dependency which forced them into particular roles in the international division of labour, distorting and limiting their capacity for autonomous development. In this view, in so far as development has taken place, it has primarily responded to the requirements of dominant economic interests in the advanced countries, and the underdevelopment of the dependent countries, in all of its manifestations, is structurally linked to the development of the dominant countries.

The first approach emphasizes that modernization of underdeveloped economies could and should be achieved by the diffusion of the basic traits of the developed societies, and such a process of modernization is then equated with national development. The other approach holds that such a modernization process tends to accelerate uneven development, in as far as it promotes the incorporation of the dependent countries in the world market. It is understood as international integration accompanied by national disintegration.

In the first view the overriding need for international co-operation, the dangers of confrontation, and a struggle over the distribution of wealth are stressed, while peaceful co-existence is presented as a necessary condition for development. All nations should refrain from unilaterally determining the shape of their future. In the other view there can be no peaceful co-existence between poverty and affluence, development and underdevelopment as long as a minority of highly developed countries determines at will the allocation of world resources and promotes a process which continually impoverishes the poor and enriches the rich. This leads to a world-wide confrontation pitting the forces of liberation against the powers of exploitation, a confrontation which can only end when the dependent countries achieve full and effective control over their natural resources and are free to adopt the economic and social system which they deem most appropriate for their own development. A more balanced development of relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries can only be realized, according to this view, by the establishment of a New Economic Order which does away with the remaining vestiges of alien domination, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and the other obstacles to the full emancipation of the developing countries. Only then will all countries be able to participate

in solving the world's economic problems in the common interests of all."⁵⁵

Socialist thinkers, therefore, present underdevelopment and development as two sides of the same coin, as two aspects of the same phenomenon. In fact, it is capitalist development that creates poverty and underdevelopment. For, capitalism is a system which intrinsically generates unequal and uneven development. It is a single system composed of rich centres and poor peripheries. This is true at both the international and national levels. Socialist thinkers, as a result, very strongly denounce the process of colonization and the mechanisms of today's world trade.⁵⁶ The expression "Third World" is misleading, for it tends to create the impression that we are dealing with a completely separate world and it exonerates the First and Second Worlds from any responsibility for its emergence and continued existence. Similar patterns also exist at the national level. Political independence does not suffice, for it can go hand in hand with the control of both the economy and of the national life by an elite which collaborates with foreign oppressors in the pursuit of its own selfish interests. Socialist writers constantly speak of "foreign-oriented", "export-oriented", "alienated", "dominated", and "dependent" economies. For them, development means liberation and a new economic world order.

In such a perspective, dependent countries and oppressed sections of society must understand the root-causes of their misery, organise themselves, and struggle for their rights. Development, consequently, means mass organizations, mass movements and even revolutionary movements. W.E. Wertheim offers us very challenging views on the role of revolutions in the development of mankind and in world history: "Revolution appears to be a basic element in the process of human evolution. For the present world it is even truer than for earlier times that basically 'development does not proceed along an evolutionary, but along a revolutionary road'".⁵⁷ Wertheim,

55. A Special Consultant, ESCAP, United Nations, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, "Premises and Implications of a Unified Approach to Development Analysis and Planning", 1975 pp. 4-5. On this subject, see also appendix 15.

56. Tissa Balasuriya provides an excellent example of such an approach in his article "The Development of the Poor through the Civilizing of the Rich", in "Logos" vol. 12, 1973, pp. 39-74.

57. "Evolution and Revolution, The Rising Waves of Emancipation", Penguin books, 1974, p. 85. This is, according to us, one of the best and most balanced books on the subject. Though influenced by marxism, the author is not a full-fledged marxist (p. 12).

therefore, views evolution and revolution not as two contradictory realities, but as two aspects of the same process of social change. And "Revolution occurs because non-violent evolution is not occurring".⁵⁸ "Yet, the fact remains that, since the Second World War, only a few underdeveloped countries have definitely embarked upon the social-revolutionary road. Most of them have gone through a national bourgeois revolution which, however, did not basically change the prevalent social system and power relationships, at least as far as internal forces were concerned."⁵⁹ Wertheim, however, remains confident about the future. Since he sees world history as open-ended and observes certain patterns or trends in it, he rejects a deterministic vision of the future and believes in the probability—and not only the possibility—of continuing evolution and emancipation, through a process fraught with contradictions, conflicts, revolutions and inconsistencies.⁶⁰

According to our present understanding of the situation, it is only in certain forms of socialism—and the words "in certain forms" are essential!—that the structural reforms required for world development and peace become deep enough and welded into a unified system in which humanitarian aspirations towards social justice can be really fulfilled. Only certain forms of socialism can ensure a future for the whole of mankind. In this way, socialism is the deepening and fulfillment of the "Institutional and Social Justice Approaches". On the other hand, however, socialism differs from previous paths in that it always implies a highly political and often revolutionary approach to development. Socialism aims at a much deeper and rapid restructuring of society.

58. C. Johnson, quoted p. 265. Speaking of the modernization approach, Wertheim writes: "It is logical enough that in different countries of the Third World strenuous attempts are made, both by populist and by counter-revolutionary regimes, to accelerate the rate of economic development through peaceful, that is to say non-revolutionary, means. Economic development is regarded as the best medicine to prevent revolutions. Everyone would agree that, if such steps could succeed, this would be the most preferable way to achieve emancipation and material progress. However, the tragedy of the present century -- as a matter of fact, the central theme of the 'Asian Drama'--appears to be that no major country can now succeed in achieving an economic development rapid and general enough to transform an agrarian society into an industrial one without revolution" (p. 267).

59. *ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

60. *ibid.*, pp. 374-77.

2. The Various Types of Socialist Approaches

Within this general framework of socialism, more or less agreed upon by all those who follow this pattern of development, there is still a wide variety. This question can be explored from various angles.

All socialists are far from being marxist.⁶¹ It is even difficult to define marxism in a way acceptable to all its adherents. A few major issues are worth mentioning here. If marxism implies certain philosophical views such as atheism and dialectical and historical materialism, many socialists refuse to be called marxists. Nowadays, however, several people tend to dissociate marxism from philosophical tenets. Many socialists also refuse to consider the economic structures of society as the determinant or even the most important factor in world history and to classify various types of society according to traditional marxist schemes. It should, however, be noticed that the relationship between the substructure and the super-structures have also become the object of great debates among marxists. Though they usually recognise the existence of "social classes", all socialists do not give them the same importance, especially when it comes to the question of accepting "class struggle" as a basic and permanent strategy. While usually accepted among marxists, the legitimacy, the necessity and the usefulness of violence remain debated among socialists. In this booklet, we cannot enter into further distinctions between socialists and marxists, and among marxists themselves.

Socialist approaches to development assume various shapes and forms according to the different emphasis given to the ideological and political factors. One has only to look at Russia, China and Cuba, to see very different stands taken on the importance of the cultural revolution and of socialist and marxist education. From that standpoint, the roads leading to the socialist revolution also greatly differ. The differences are so pronounced that Dickinson has made use of them to characterise two approaches to development. According to him, the "change-political-structures approach" gives priority to the political factor, while the "conscientization approach" focuses on a deep transformation of attitudes and values and on the active and organised participation of the people at the local level.⁶² It should be noticed, however, that for Dickinson these approaches do not always involve socialism.

61. See appendices 14 and 15.

62. For more details, see appendix 12. Booklets 13 and 14 will respectively deal with these two approaches to development.

We may finally add that socialist approaches differ by the stand they adopt on revolutionary movements. As opposed to the capitalist system, all socialist approaches are evidently revolutionary. They do not, however, always try to capture power through revolutionary means. By principle or by strategy, many socialist and even marxists opt to work within the democratic system. In this respect, all socialists cannot be called revolutionary.

CONCLUSION

We hope that certain trends of thought emerge from this survey of the Development Debate. First, development means humanization. On account of their recent historical experiences, developed countries particularly stress this human and cultural dimension of development today; this constitutes a relevant insight for the whole of mankind. Secondly, development means economic growth and social justice. Since capitalism and modernization lead to the misery and oppression of the great majority of mankind, development must imply at least the following measures: structural reforms affecting the economic, social, political and cultural relationships between countries and social groups; limits-to-growth in developed countries, and people's participation, through mass organizations and movements, in the struggle for development and social justice. Thirdly, it should be clear that for many people in the world today, development means economic, political and cultural liberation. It even means socialism. If we enter into further details, many people will place, at the heart of their concept of development, realities such as politicization, conscientization, revolution and class struggle.

We are sure that the title of our booklet has, by now, become clear to our readers. The Development Debate will continue in our next booklets. Several questions have indeed been raised, especially in the last two sections, and more accurate tools of analysis are required to answer them. For the time being, we would like to conclude with this warning of Wertheim: "There is no certainty: we have to remain aware of the possibility that mankind will prefer self-destruction to further emancipation." 63

APPENDICES*

- 1- The Importance of Economic Development, C.T. Kurien
- 2- Development as Humanization, C. Elliott
- 3- Three Modernization Theories or Approaches, A.R. Desai
- 4- The Growth Strategy in India, C.T. Kurien
- 5- Misleading Comparisons with the West, G. Myrdal
- 6- Aid as an Instability Factor, K. Seitz
- 7- The Ownership Question and the Problem of Power,
C.T. Kurien
- 8- The Institutional Approach, G. Myrdal
- 9- Second United Nations Development Decade (Preamble)
- 10- The Establishment of a New International Economic Order
(UN)
- 11- The Need for Social Justice and Pressure from Below,
G. Myrdal
- 12- The Conscientization Approach, R. Dickinson
- 13- Development as Liberation, C. Elliott
- 14- The Historical Approach of Radical Social Scientists,
A.R. Desai
- 15- The Marxist Approach, A.R. Desai

* These short appendices provide us with thought-provoking reflections on the Development Debate. They follow the order of our own presentation. While some of them give complementary information (for example, appendices 3, 9 & 10), the others describe in a nutshell either certain aspects of the problems or the main characteristics of different approaches to development.

1. The Importance of Economic Development*

"Before we dismiss development as a simple economic phenomenon let me underline the tremendous importance of the economic aspect of the problem of development.... If development is concerned with people, its economic aspect is the most pertinent issue for the vast majority of people all over the world. In a world where millions of men, women and children worry about their next meal, where human life is reduced to less than the level of animal existence for want of the material things of life, we can never underestimate the economic dimension of development. This is particularly true in our country where even after two decades of planning for development, life is a bitter struggle day after day for the many millions whom we see and pass by every day. To them development is not a new name for peace or justice, but the old name for food. It is a frequent temptation for those of us who do not have to worry about the basic necessities of life (which, in our context, simply means those who thrive on the drudgery and suffering of others) to quote the Scripture and say: "Life is more than food, the body more than clothes.".... How right was Gandhiji to insist that to a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food and wages! When we attempt to lift development from its worldly moorings, let us be warned that it hides the danger of being preoccupied with ethereal issues to evade our responsibility for the earthly miseries of others."

2. Development as Humanization**

The aim of development is "to make people more human. To lift them out of the degrading, inhuman and dehumanizing conditions of poverty, unemployment, ill-health, disease and ignorance and give them back the chance to be fully human people. The basic belief, then, is that a wretched environment reduces the possibility people have of sharing in what makes men. The essence of the human is threatened by under-development". Hence development is to make people subjects instead of objects, to insist on the primacy of the person and to render people capable of peace and relationships with others. Man is co-creator. He is open to the transcendent. This vision of development is a plea for the protection of the spiritual in man. Development means "a national awakening which is as much spiritual as material". It is "to have more in order to be more". In this context, "the West, far from being a model, is an "awful" warning of what to avoid".

* C. T. Kurien, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

** C. Elliott, op. cit., pp. 52-69,

C. Elliott is rather critical towards this approach: "If humanization is a process of 'the whole of humanity' towards greater material wealth and moral growth, it may be open to... objections. We can justifiably stretch the concept from growth to liberation, since these concepts are about material goods. But if we add a normative dimension to the concept, we are not only stretching the elastic from left to right: we are trying to stretch it in the vertical plane, too. Under these conditions, it simply breaks. If we mean humanization, it is wiser to say so explicitly."

3. Three Modernization Theories or Approaches*

A. R. Desai distinguishes (1) the Ideal-Typical Index Approach, (2) the "Diffusionist Approach", and (3) the Psychological Approach. Quoting Manning Nash, he thus sums up the first two approaches: "The first mode is the index method: the general features of a developed economy are abstracted as an ideal type and then contrasted with the equally ideal typical features of a poor economy and society. In this mode, development is viewed as the transformation of one type into another. The second mode is the acculturation view of the process of development. The West (taken here as the Atlantic community of developed nations and their overseas outliers) diffuse knowledge, skills, organizations, values technology and capital to a poor nation, until over time, its society, culture and personnel become variants of that which made the Atlantic community economically successful." In his analysis, Desai points out that the ideal typical index approach manifested itself in two major variants: (A) the pattern variable approach—derived from Max Weber's concept of Ideal type and systematized by Talcott Parsons—and (B) the Historical stage approach mostly associated with Rostow and subsequently modified by various scholars. Rostow identifies five stages of growth in the life of a society, "traditional, the pre-conditions of take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity and the age of mass consumption." The Psychological Approach has been developed by McClelland, Kunkel, Hagen and others. The central hypothesis of this approach, according to McClelland is that "a society with a generally high level of achievement will produce more energetic entrepreneurs who, in turn, produce more rapid economic development....it must satisfy us to have learned that high need for achievement leads people to behave in most of the ways they should behave if they are to fulfil the entrepreneurial role successfully as it has been defined by economists historians, sociologists.... The whole view of history shifts once the importance of the achievement is

* A. R. Desai, op. cit., pp. ix-xiii.

recognised....Only a high degree of individual motivation or need for achievement is the alpha and omega of economic development and cultural change".

Desai comments: "The first three approaches have dominated American thought. They have received the largest support from the United States Government. These approaches crystallized themselves in the early fifties. They gained virtual supremacy in the fifties and the first half of the sixties and still provide the major matrix for practical policies adopted by advanced capitalist countries for "modernising" underdeveloped societies".

4. The Growth Strategy in India*

"Development comes through capital formation; capital formation is difficult in a poor country; hence the initial push for development must come from foreign aid; the present generation must tighten its belt for the sake of the future.... We accepted industrialization as the path to growth and concluded that growth in the long run comes through capital intensive industries.... The logic of development which gave primacy to growth was also willing to accept an increase in inequalities in the 'short run': in fact it was considered to be necessary on the assumption that the rich would save more and thus accelerate growth. The argument was supported by the belief that in the 'long run', growth itself would reduce inequalities ... National income became the yardstick to measure development ... (Development was) a course of imitation, the attempt to follow (the) path (of richer countries).... Production and growth came to be accepted as the patent drugs to cure underdevelopment." This is the "Growth Strategy".

The author thus speaks of a variant of this approach: "A few minor distributive elements are built into the strategy to be sure, as a concession to the political realities of the times. Instead of a 'mere growth' strategy there emerges a "growth plus' strategy".

5. Misleading Comparisons with the West**

The underdeveloped countries are often less well endowed with natural resources than the presently developed countries were when they began modern development ... Climatic condi-

* C. T. Kurien, op. cit., pp. 65-66, 16, 9, 78-79.

** G. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 46-59.

tions often impose serious obstacles to development... The present population density and the prospective rapid growth of population constitute another very important difference between underdeveloped and developed countries.... Ever since the First World War most underdeveloped countries have seen their trading position deteriorating.... What is almost inexplicably concealed in economic writings is the obvious fact that scientific and technological advance in the developed countries has had, and is now having, an impact on the underdeveloped countries which, on balance, is detrimental to their development prospects.... The usual view that differences in levels of development have only a "dimensional", not a 'qualitative' character, and more specifically there is only a 'time lag', between developed and underdeveloped countries is mistaken... The view that these countries could develop themselves according to a process of transformation more or less similar to that of today's developed countries... is superficial and radically false. All their problems are different".

6. Aid As An Instability Factor*

The starting-point of this essay is the disparity between the aims and effects of Western development aid. The aim of aid is to contribute towards peaceful development in the underdeveloped countries.... Since the end of the sixties, if not earlier, it has been evident that (the) development strategy, has not, in practice, lived up to theoretical expectations. Despite a flow of aid unparalleled in history, none of the developing countries, with the exception of a few small fry such as Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea, has reached the state of self-supporting growth.

Aid has failed even more drastically to achieve its secondary aim, that of facilitating a peaceful course of development. Nearly everywhere in the Third World the story is the same in the early seventies. Underemployment and unemployment are on the increase and so is inequality. Only a minority has participated in economic growth.

The upshot of rapidly increasing unemployment and growing disparities in earnings is growing social unrest everywhere. In many countries it has already assumed such proportions that it represents a serious threat to continued economic growth. Development threatens to end in chaos.

* Konrad Seitz, op. cit., pp. 309-14.

What was wrong with the Western development theory? The answer to this question grew increasingly clearer as the sixties progressed: pretty well everything. None of the assumptions on which it was based corresponded to the reality in underdeveloped countries.

If the aim and effect of development aid are to be reconciled, current development and policy must be reformed from the bottom up.... The aim of a new development policy must be to achieve growth in a manner combining both maximum employment and reduction in social injustice. This is the exact opposite of the current approach. An attempt must be made to achieve growth not by tolerating inequality but by reducing it, not by developing capital but by mobilising the unused labour reserves of the masses.

Mobilization of the masses presupposes that social structures are so changed that the masses are enabled to grasp the economic initiative and participate in growth. The new development policy thus involves social reforms."

7. The Ownership Question and the Problem of Power*

"The unreality and distortion of development economics, as of economics itself, is, to a large extent, due to its unwillingness to enter into what is probably the most crucial aspect of the development problem, the question of ownership of resources.... When one steps out of the narrow theoretical frame of Anglo-American economics and looks at the problems of poverty and development straight in their face, the ownership question appears to be the crucial issue in understanding these problems. I have no doubt in my mind that one of the main reasons for the Indian predicament today is the unwillingness to face the question regarding the ownership of resources.

This reluctance to confront the ownership issue is basically the reluctance to confront the problem of power. For ownership is one major basis of power. And the economic theory that most of us have acquired conveniently passes over this entire problem. In traditional neo-classical theory [which is what our text-books are concerned with] the issues related to power are all evaded ... The market... [is] the only power in the system. But the market is an impersonal power, and consequently a power without vested interest. The 'purity' of the system is thereby guaranteed ... the impression is created of a 'free' system in operation.

* C. T. Kurien, op. cit., pp. 4-8.

The sterility resulting from the exclusion of power from the contents of economics is beginning to be recognised by the profession itself. Galbraith ... claimed that in eliding power, economic theory had destroyed its relation with the real world. Nowhere is it more true than in the treatments of poverty and development. A certain gulf between social reality and professional theory is perhaps inevitable, but by cleverly dodging the problem of power professional economics has not only distorted the problems of poverty and development in the academic sense, but has also become one of the main impediments in solving these problems in a practical sense. Neutral economics is very much the ally of the rich and the powerful against the wretched and the oppressed.

The dodging of the problems of power must also be seen as part of the attempt to retain power. The elites in countries like ours who rely on the 'scientific' economics are not only academic and social elites, but power elites as well. Their power arises from the vast inequalities that the present system tolerates and perpetuates, for they are very much part of an affluent minority. Consequently any effective attempt to eradicate mass poverty and to arouse the masses is a direct threat to their existence and operations. A subtle device used by those who wield power is to pretend that power does not exist at all!"

8. The Institutional Approach*

"My main point is that, while in the developed countries an analysis in purely "economic" terms .. may make sense and lead to valid inferences.... in underdeveloped countries this approach is simply not applicable, except at the price of making the analysis irrelevant and grossly faulty.... The.... fundamental deficiency is...that this approach abstracts from attitudes and institutions....

One conclusion of the analysis in this book is the need for radical reforms in most or all underdeveloped countries.... It is urgent to initiate and rapidly carry out these reforms. The needed reforms ... centre on breaking up inegalitarian and rigid economic and social stratifications. In agriculture, land reform stands out as the crucial issue. Birth control must be spread among the masses of people. A fundamental redirection of education and a vigorous adult education campaign are needed. Corruption must be stamped out and stricter social discipline enforced. Reforms in this direction would be the rational policy

* G. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 27, 395, 396-7.

choices. Bringing about their rapid realization would amount to an economic and social revolution.

I have grown more and more convinced.... that most often it is.... easier to carry out a big rapid change than a series of small gradual changes . (Such) changes ordinarily must be attained by resolutely altering institutions within which people live and work, instead of trying, by direct or indirect means, to induce changes in attitudes while leaving institutions to adjust themselves to the changed attitudes.... Institutions for instance the distribution of land ownership -can usually be changed only by resorting to ... compulsion -legislating obligations on some people, giving rights to others, and supporting these changes by state force. There is less chance for continued resistance when the change is rapid and big."

9. Second United Nations' Development Decade*

The preamble of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations' Development Decade declared that:

"As the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life, it is essential to bring about a more equitable distribution of income and wealth for promoting both social justice and efficiency of production, to raise substantially the level of employment, to achieve a greater degree of income security and to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social welfare, and to safeguard the environment. Thus qualitative and structural changes in the society must go hand in hand with rapid economic growth, and existing disparities—regional, sectoral, and social—should be substantially reduced. These objectives are both determining factors and end-results of development ; they should therefore be viewed as integrated parts of the same dynamic process, and would require a unified approach."

10. The Establishment of a New International Economic Order**

"We, the members of the General Assembly, solemnly proclaim our united determination to work urgently for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and

* General Assembly resolution 2626.

** Declaration of the General Assembly, United Nations, May 1974.

co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations, and to that end, declare:

(1) The greatest and most significant achievement during the last decade has been the independence from colonial and alien domination of a large number of peoples and nations which has enabled them to become members of the community of free peoples. Technological progress has also been made in all spheres of economic activities in the last three decades, thus providing a solid potential for improving the well-being of all peoples. However, the remaining vestiges of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid and neo-colonialism in all its forms continue to be among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of the developing countries and the peoples involved. The benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community. The developing countries, which constitute 70 per cent of the world's population, account for only 30 per cent of the world's income. It has proved impossible to achieve an even and balanced development of the international community under the existing international economic order. The gap between the developed and the developing countries continues to widen in a system, which was established at a time when most of the developing countries did not even exist as independent States and which perpetuates inequality.

(2) The present international economic order is in direct conflict with current developments in international political and economic relations.... (The) irreversible changes in the relationship of forces in the world necessitate the active, full and equal participation of the developing countries in the formulation and application of all decisions that concern the international community.

(3) All these changes have thrust into prominence the reality of interdependence of all the members of the world community. International co-operation for development is the shared goal and common duty of all countries. Thus the political, economic and social well-being of present and future generations depend more than ever on co-operation between all members of the international community on the basis of sovereign equality and the removal of the disequilibrium that exists between them."

11. The Need for Social Justice and Pressure from Below*

"A preconception.... (in the post-war thinking) was that these extremely poor countries could not afford to think in terms of social justice and to pay the price for egalitarian reforms.... Social justice would have to be sacrificed in order to accomplish economic growth ... The idea of a conflict between greater equality and economic growth where priority in these poor countries has to be given to growth is commonly supported by an analogy from the history of the now developed countries. The western countries and even Japan experienced rising inequalities in the early stages of their industrialization. The crude exploitation of the poor is then assumed to have been the condition that made possible the rise in savings and the aggressive entrepreneurship that gave momentum to the industrial revolution.

In my opinion, there are a number of general reasons why, contrary to the ordinary conception of a conflict between the two goals of economic growth and greater economic equality, those are often in harmony, and why greater equality in underdeveloped countries is almost a condition for more rapid growth. The equality issue has to be brought down to earth and to be discussed in relation to concrete policy issues. The conclusion I have reached is that inequality and the trend toward rising inequality stand as a complex of inhibitions and obstacles to development and that, consequently, there is an urgent need for reversing the trend and creating greater equality as a condition for speeding up development.

To become important, the egalitarian ideas need pressure from below. And that is exactly what is missing in most underdeveloped countries. It has never occurred in recorded history that a privileged group, on its own initiative and simply in order to give reality to its ideals, has climbed down from its privileges and opened its monopolies to the unprivileged. The unprivileged have to become conscious of their demands for greater equality and fight for their realization. At that point, the general acceptance of ideals can become operative and important. And this is the reason why in my opinion it is not insignificant that the egalitarian ideals are commonly accepted on the level of principles in the ruling upper class."

* G. Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 63-89, & 88.

12. The Conscientization Approach*

"This model stresses people's participation from the local level. Given wide currency at the theoretical level in the literacy and conscientization programmes advocated by Paulo Freire, and at the operational level by a wide spectrum of local people's action groups, this approach stresses development motivated by the oppressed and poor. It puts little faith in development efforts initiated by the leadership of society, whether that leadership is politically left or right. While proponents of this model stress the need for political action, that action should be generated and controlled by people at the local level—among the traditionally powerless.

The basic strategy of the "people's participation" school is ultimately to help generate new political frameworks, but these must emerge out of a new consciousness of the people, rooted in a deepened awareness of their own capacities and rights. Those capacities and rights cannot be simply given from the outside; they must emerge from the inside of individuals and groups and they can evolve only in the dialectic relation between corporate reflection and corporate action. They must grow in the soil of a people's experience as a community. Conscientization, therefore, is a process which enables people to analyse their own situation; understand their own alienation, not only or primarily from others, but from themselves. They must discover their individual and corporate power, and act towards the creation of their own future. New political superstructures which do not grow out of that new social consciousness would become new instruments of alienation and oppression.

Defenders of this approach claim that it puts people at the centre of the development process, rather than impersonal structures, economic growth, technology, or international co-operation. They argue that the masses are imprisoned by hopelessness about themselves as much as by social structures at either the national or international levels, though these latter cannot be ignored. Fundamentally, that kind of imprisonment cannot be overcome with new external structures, but only through new internal consciousness and meaning. Unless this new consciousness is generated, the people will fall prey to new masters.

While these are the major theoretical planks of the conscientization and people's participation approach, there are tactical arguments as well. Many advocates of this model conclude

* R. Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

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that violence is suicide. Violence against "the system" tends to alarm the system and provoke massive counter-violence by those in power. Usually the most defenceless are the most vulnerable. This is more than a temporary squelching of the poor. The established system uses the threat of disruption as a pretext to become even more oppressive in the name of security.

Opponents of the conscientization model see in it several major problems. One is its apparent underestimation of the power and intractability of the present system. As soon as the conscientization programmes are perceived as threats, they will be coopted or destroyed. Another problem is its apparent willingness to endure the oppression of millions of people for a very long time. A third is the conviction that such an approach does not address itself to the basic problems of systemic power and dependency, neither of which is very much affected by the proliferation of small local groups; therefore it is a strategy which does not come to grips with the nature or extent of power, especially at the national and international levels. Furthermore, it is too pessimistic about the capacity of new and radically changed political structures to organise people's participation. It is only the present character of domination from "above" which leads to the conclusion that nothing can be done except from local level groups".

13. Development as Liberation*

"We have so far seen how the concept of development is stretched from economic growth to social development to political participation in a democratic system, and although we may have serious reservations about the degree to which any existing democratic system actually provides participation, we may be prepared to live with this problem. Now, however, we are being challenged with a type of analysis which suggests that in some countries at least the normal processes of political participation are simply not open to the vast majority of the population and that so long as they tolerate this situation there is simply no possibility of development in the senses we have so far outlined. And that is why for more radical Latin Americans at least—and there is growing evidence that this type of thinking is extending to Africa and Asia—the concept of liberation as being logically equivalent to development is so attractive. For it is only when society is liberated from the satellization that dominates it from both outside and within that development in the more normal sense is possible.

* C. Elliott, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

As a concept, liberation has two more attractive qualities. It speaks of the dignity of man. And it contrasts with developmentism and modernization. A word on each of these. The fact of marginality is an affront to the value of the individual, for it denies him both self-respect and a status in the community. It therefore threatens his individual and social identity. Liberation is an attack on this marginality — the marginality of the oppressed groups of the several countries as well as the marginality of the satellite countries vis-a-vis the metropolitan countries.

The essence of that attack is the redistribution of economic and political power. But first the individual has to be liberated from his conception of himself as an object of a process, passively excluded from all decision-making. His awareness of himself as a creative and responsible being must be established, so that he may be liberated from his own servility For when the individual becomes aware of himself and his place in his society, he demands the power to challenge the injustices he sees.

The liberation of the marginal groups can only be achieved by ensuring that they have the political power necessary to transform the structure of society in such a way that distributive justice becomes possible. This can only be achieved by revolution in the strict sense of that word— turning upside down.

Equally, the metropolis-satellite relations in international economic and political structures must be changed if the conditions of life of the mass of the people are to improve. This, too, requires a revolutionary shift in political power from the metropolitan countries to the satellites. It is accepted that this has military overtones, for the metropolitan country will normally seek to protect its economic interests by military power. Thus internal and external revolutions are both inevitable if real progress is to be made—and both may involve violence. The contrast with the more eirenic approaches of the developmentist and the modernizer hardly needs emphasis. For them, violence and revolution is the antithesis of development. For the liberation school, they are a necessary condition — and even a defining characteristic— of it.'

14. The Historical Approach of Radical Social Scientists*

"This approach comprises of many strands. The major postulates of this approach are sometimes characterised as

* A. R. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

"New Sociology", "Radical Sociology", "Conflict Sociology" with its key focus shifted from equilibrium to social change.

One of the crucial features of this approach is that it emphasises the historical dimension and studies societies—developed as well as the underdeveloped—in their specific historical setting. It evolves policies of development on the basis of their concrete findings. It highlights the creative role of conflicts. It provides empirical data, theoretical formulations, and policy propositions which are different and are even sharply opposed to those elaborated by the earlier three approaches regarding modernization of underdeveloped societies.

The scholars pursuing this approach differ from the scholars developing the Marxist approach. They do not always describe the societies which have been emerging after the Renaissance, Reformation, British and French Revolutions as Capitalist Societies. They further do not recognize that production relation is the axis round which society is woven. While recognizing the significant role of conflict, they do not consider class-conflict as the central and most focal conflict in society. They further presume that the ruling group in contemporary society is the power-elite, and not the capitalist class. According to them, the capitalist class is not the ruling class either in the developed or underdeveloped countries. They also do not agree with the contention that after the October Revolution in Russia, contemporary societies are evolving on two distinct types viz., the "capitalist" and "non capitalist" or "socialist" ones."

15. The Marxist Approach*

"The fifth approach which has emerged as a powerful rival to the other approaches is the Marxist approach. This approach accepts the fundamentals of the Marxist philosophical and sociological postulates, strategy of social studies and analysis of societies.

According to this approach, an adequate theory of development for the 'third world' can be formulated only if it is clearly grasped that the present underdevelopment of the 'third world' is rooted in the fact that they were kept backward as colonial and semi-colonial appendages of the present advanced capitalist imperialist countries. This backwardness was simultaneously generated by the very process which ushered in develop-

* A. R. Desai, op. cit., pp. xv-xvii.

ment in the imperialist countries. The underdevelopment of a large number of countries are the two faces of the same world wide process which emerged with the growth of modern capitalist system on a global scale.

The Marxists consider that a proper understanding of the cause of underdevelopment and the problems arising out of this underdevelopment can be arrived at only if it is fully understood in the context of the growth of the world-wide capitalist system from its mercantilist, industrial, to its latest imperialist phase of development wherein a few countries around the Atlantic developed as the exploiting centres and the rest of the colonial and semi-colonial countries as the underdeveloped periphery.

According to them, the capitalist system in the twentieth century and particularly after World War I is becoming incapable of fully developing the productive forces of mankind. It is in mortal combat with the alternative system of social structure which having first emerged in Russia after the October Revolution, is spreading to the other parts of the world today, and which has already covered one-third of mankind. The alternative social system is based fundamentally on a distinctive and qualitatively new form of property relations and objectives of production. This group of scholars consider that the underdeveloped countries which have been politically "liberated" from the advanced imperialist countries, and have taken to the path of development along capitalist lines, are very intimately interlocked with their masters in a dependent institutional framework. This indirect subjugation of the economy of these countries is made more and more intense by the advanced capitalist countries whose continuous advance is closely linked up, even now, with the neo-colonial subjection of this politically liberated but economically and culturally subordinate and dependent third world.

According to this approach, the relationship between developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped societies is not one of harmony and cooperation, as it is made out to be. The developed countries are not aiding the underdeveloped countries for overcoming their backwardness. They are, on the contrary, elaborating a new and more subtle form of 'pillage' and exploitation of the third world under the guise of "aid". They are transforming underdeveloped societies into their neo-colonial dependencies. The entire image of "aid", "assistance", "support", and diffusion of skills, techniques, capital and modernized institutions and values is false and deceptive. The claim that advanced countries are helping the backward underdeveloped societies to transform themselves into advanced modern ones is really a complex myth to cover the basic exploitative interest of monopoly capital.

According to these scholars, the entire rhetoric of development, aid and modernization as evolved by the scholars of the three earlier approaches is in reality the cloak to hide the fact of a new form of exploitation and as a subtle defence of the policies which are not intended to overcome their backwardness. In fact, the pattern of aid itself is the basic obstacle to overcoming backwardness by the underdeveloped societies.

The followers of the Marxist approach consider that the policies prescribed under the earlier major approaches and pursued by the ruling class of the advanced capitalist countries are based on a theory of development which relies on the strengthening of the propertied classes and of the rich. These policies, according to Marxists, are fundamentally fallacious. By relying on the rich propertied classes to usher development, they become major obstacles to the very objective of overall development. According to the Marxists, only a policy based on reliance on the working strata, can initiate the processes which can overcome even the initial hurdles to development.

According to this approach, the capitalist class and the colonial exploitation "is the historic source and the contemporary cause of underdevelopment" and must be eliminated first to permit such development.

In brief, the Marxist critique of the other approaches boils down to the following:

The other approaches fail to grasp or explain (1) the true character of the structure of under-development and the causes responsible for the same (2) the real alternative facing the underdeveloped countries, viz, socialism as the only path for development. (3) the inevitability of opposition from the policy-makers of the advanced capitalist countries to permit real developmental efforts by peoples of the underdeveloped countries not by mending capitalism, but, by smashing it and striving to establish socialism.

According to the Marxist approach, capitalism or socialism is the central issue confronted by underdeveloped societies to overcome their backwardness."

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* Presuming that more advanced readers can find their own sources, we kept this bibliography very elementary. The suggested books and articles, rather easy to read, provide an overall picture of the Development Debate. The article of Desai sums up the different development theories, while the books of Elliott and Dickinson describe the various concepts of development as well as the theoretical and practical issues at stake. The special number of "Impact" on the "Second Development Decade" explains the stand of the United Nations and of the "Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace". Kusum Nair insists on the human dimension of development, while Myrdal and Kurien call into question the modernization approach and propose various structural changes. Frank and Wertheim are even more radical and revolutionary in their suggestions for a new society.

QUESTIONNAIRE*

- 1) Do you find the Development Debate relevant? What are the main insights you gained from this booklet?
- 2) How would you define development? (For various views confer the text: pp. 6 & 48-49 and appendices 1 & 2).
- 3) Describe and evaluate each approach to development.
- 4) What are the basic assumptions of the United Nations Declarations quoted in appendices 9 & 10?
- 5) What approach(es) to development have the Indian Government and voluntary organisations adopted since Independence?
- 6) What approach to development do you personally favour? Why?
- 7) Do you look at the future of mankind and of India with optimism? Why?

* These questions can be discussed with the help of the text and the appendices. It may also be profitable to read and discuss each section of the booklet.

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